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German Empire which, indeed, corresponds to the old cultural relations." This game has proved so effective with Courland that a similar act is planned for Lithuania, but not so with Livonia and Esthonia. These last two are to be "policed by Germany on their own invitation until security is guaranteed and order restored." Germany's motives in this section are best illustrated by the Bavarian Colonization Society which decided at its meeting in Munich to send 50,000 German colonists into Courland, by the invasion of Russian territory contrary to her promises, and by her threat of a fourth partition of bleeding Poland. This last, contained in the German Chancellor's statement, is promulgated in spite of the proclamation of two emperors in 1916 declaring to all the world Poland's independence, and that the further shaping of a new Poland "can only take place on the standpoint of negotiations between Germany and Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and Poland on the other hand." Also, there are those Baltic provinces, and Finland, and the Ukraine, and Roumania—all Belgianized by the might worshipers of Wilhelmstrasse. But the Russian people are not fools. The Imperial German Government is digging for her ambitions to the East only a grave. The victory of principle is inevitable. Already Trotzky is showing to us the German sources of the claim that German and Austrian prisoners in Siberia constitute a basis for Japanese intervention. He goes further, and asks the American military mission for ten American officers to assist him as inspectors in organizing and training a new volunteer army. He requests the services of American railway engineers and transportation experts. He wants locomotives and cars. Moscow is taking upon itself the air of a permanent capital. English, French, American, Italian, and Serbian military missions are going about their business as if they expected to remain in Moscow for some time. President Wilson's message to the Congress of Soviets was read shortly after the opening of the Congress on March 14, by the chairman of the central executive committee, Mr. Sverdloff, and it was received with applause. When President Wilson said in his letter to the Soviets "that the whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the master of their own life," he set before us all the basic principle that should guide us in the things that we should say and do in all matters relating to Russia. We believe, and we call upon our readers to believe, that the people of Russia will yet respond unitedly and effectively to the principle announced by the Supreme War Council of the Allies March 18, that "we are fighting, and mean to continue fighting, in order to finish

once for all with this policy of plunder and to establish in its place the peaceful reign of organized justice."

THE LEARNED STUDENTS OF OUR COVER

WE ARE still receiving a few "protests" from those who find time to examine learnedly the cover of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, savants who by steadfast gaze upon the titles there displayed have found that we "are advocating peace by the means of war." We wish we might prevail upon these careful analysts to pursue their investigations a little way into our page on a Governed World, and, if it is not asking too much, into a paragraph here or there of one or two of our editorials. It ought not to be necessary for us to remind these scholarly critics that it is the Kaiser, Field Marshal von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff, who "are advocating peace by the means of war," and not we. We do not believe that these gentlemen are going to win peace by war, for the reason that we purpose to array sufficient force against their force, terrifying as it is, to counteract it and to show its childish foolishness and raging impotence. We regret that the limitations of our cover have caused this principle to be overlooked by our critics. We are in this war. We have said that "we must win this war." We repeat it. In General Pershing's language, "We can, we must, and we will win this war," by which we mean that we purpose to defeat the Prussian "will to power." But, as we have tried to say, whether or not this will uproot the obstacle that stands in the path of a real peace will depend upon this force, but upon something also above it. We believe that the United States, fighting for the highest ideals that any nation on earth has set for itself, can and will and ought to do its share to uproot Prussianism in its immediate manifestation by winning this war. But this of itself will not bring what we understand by "peace." It will remove one deadly enemy of that international justice upon which peace must be founded; an enemy that the insensate world allowed to grow unmolested through decades of a so-called "peace," until the time came when either it or we must perish. We must win this war, we say, a war of the lovers of a real peace against the despoilers of the rights of men. We must take the method first of disarming by force the foe that threatens us, since mankind does not yet know how else to meet the physical manifestations of evil. Afterwards, we shall have to complete the process through the strength of good-will and the power of brains and ideals.

When a Quaker friend writes us that "the service of

the Society of Friends is not confined to our Government, but includes all humanity, both Allies and enemies," we reply that that is proper and that we agree. Our immediate "service" to our enemies just now, however, is to stop them in their madness. We hate no man, but we hate the madness by which our enemies are possessed. During forty years, a fatuous civilization let that madness grow, smiling foolishly the while upon the "peace" they thought prevailed. The price we must pay for that folly is the present war. The more "enlightened" we then claimed to be, the greater for that reason is our fault and the heavier now the debt we owe. Just now we believe it more to the point to give what we can to the aid and support of those who were not "enlightened," and so are less to blame but must pay all the same, than to try to maintain a "holier than thou" attitude in the face of our ghastly negligence.

One of our "cover students" writes from Japan pointing to the ancient fable and accusing us that we "blow hot and cold." The trouble with this correspondent seems to be that she has studied her *Aesop* with about the same discernment that she has studied the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. One familiar with this fable will recall that there was nothing monstrous in the act of blowing hot and cold, it was only a failure of the observer to understand what was going on. The same breath can warm fingers and cool porridge. So the same internationalism can fight the foes of international justice, with educational propaganda at one time and with physical force at another, or both at the same time. It may be necessary to blow hot and cold, especially if we be consistent and persistent in our stand for the rights and duties of nations. He who can blow only hot is in a fever. He who can blow only cold is moribund. The outstanding menacing fact is that the Imperial German Government ignores our conscientious objection to the settlement of differences by physical force. If we were to submit to the armed imposition of the German will we should by that action be allowing our differences with Germany to be settled by physical force, an operation to which we are unalterably opposed. Confidence in our principles makes it necessary therefore not only to protest that Germany should not establish her will by coercion, but that we shall see to it that her will is not thus established. We must adopt, therefore, Norman Angell's theory of "neutralizing" the force of the other party by "equivalent force." This is the only true pacifism. Another course would be militarism, because any other course would support the operations of physical force, in this instance German physical force.

We repeat these things, not because we favor the win-

ning of this war simply, but because, as President Wilson wrote to the New Jersey Democrats, March 20, "The real test of justice and right action is presently to come as it never came before"; because we shall then need all our moral and political forces to down the ugly thing that made this war possible, and to set up our governed world; because the real thinking and sincere action for this high purpose will require the combined intelligence of all who are now in this war. Hence, we shall not forsake our government in the hour of its trial. Indeed, we are one with it. We are keeping the home fires burning and holding aloft the banner upon which are inscribed the just principles of a righteous civilization, "of social justice and of right dealing without respect of person or class or particular interest." We do this because of our faith in an ultimate and righteous peace, and because we would attain such a peace within appreciable time and within this our actual world.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE

ONE of the most interesting of conferences was the Washington Conference of 1907, attended by the delegates of the five Central American countries. Elihu Root was then Secretary of State, and it is due to his tact and international vision, with the happy co-operation of the Mexican Ambassador, that the Conference was called. As a result of it, the spirit of Central American unity became much stronger and at a time when unity was sorely needed. Perhaps the most important single result of that Conference, which lasted for over a month, was the unanimous adoption of the convention for the establishment of a Central American Court of Justice, adopted, together with the other conventions, December 20, 1907. It was agreed to set up such a court, in the language of the Convention, "for the purpose of efficaciously guaranteeing their rights and maintaining peace and harmony unalterably in their relations, without being obliged to resort in any case to the employment of force." In Article I of the Convention it provided that the court should pass upon "all controversies or questions which may arise among them, of whatsoever nature and no matter what their origin may be, in case the respective Departments of Foreign Affairs should not be able to reach an understanding." In Article XIII appear these words: "The Central American Court of Justice represents the national conscience of Central America." In Article XXVII we read: "The high contracting parties solemnly declare that on no ground or in any case will they consider the present convention as void; and that, therefore, they